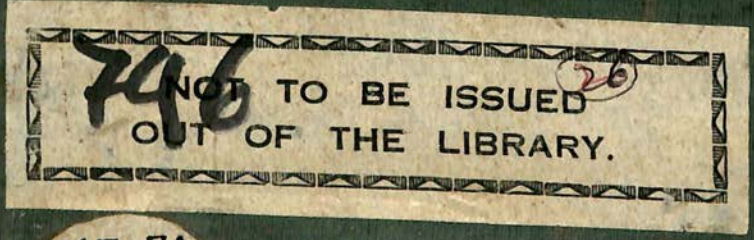
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LECTURE

ON THE

Religious Excavations of Western India,

BUDDHIST, BRAHMANICAL, AND JAINA,

INCLUDING THE DETAILS OF THOSE OF ELEPHANTA AND KARLA;

WITH

Descriptive and Historical Remarks.

BY

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PREFACE.

During my professional journeyings throughout this great country, I have often been brought in contact with its more remarkable antiquarian wonders, which in a considerable number of instances I have been among the first to observe and describe, though sometimes with unsatisfied curiosity as well as with qualified admiration. For long they have met with much considerate treatment from our Asiatic Societies and from Government. It is confidently hoped that, in their general aspects at least, they will soon be patent to the public, from the able and long-continued research of our Orientalists, and especially, of late, General Cunningham, and from the intelligent delineation and description of Mr. James Burgess, prompted and urged on (as he is) by Mr. J. Fergusson, whose friendship he enjoys. In the meantime much has been definitely ascertained respecting our antiquities; and it is this which principally excites the attention of our tourists and visitors, who in position, influence, and numbers have been

certainly increasing from year to year. With them the climax may be supposed to be now reached by the auspicious advent to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Yuvarája, or the Heir Apparent of the Throne of the British Empire in its totality. With the mild radiance of himself and his noble attendants, as it will appear to the natives of India, and the specimens of the worthies of the British army and navy gracing his movements and demonstrations, His Royal Highness will doubtless attract great and salutary attention. But he will find an Indian Progress from very early times, as well as from the commencement of our own day, which is well calculated to excite regard, sympathy and gratitude of no ordinary character. In the European atmosphere around him may be seen what must encourage us to believe that in the providence of God we have great blessings to give to India; while in the native princes, nobles, educated youth and multitudes near us, we may see a field of hopeful philanthropy of a most encouraging nature, if we will but humbly seek to discharge our respective duties with regard to it.

Most encouraging is it for us who have cleaved longest to India to see among our visitants and revisitants on this occasion such a tried and compe-

tent friend as we know the Right Hon'ble Sir Bartle Frere to be. I introduce his name here at present mainly to add, that two of the greatest groups of Religious Excavations of Western India were of his discovery, as very precisely brought out by himself in our Asiatic Journal, and acknowledged by our Asiatic Society on his leaving India.

This Lecture was originally delivered in the Town Hall, Bombay, to the Mechanics' Institute, and afterwards published in the *Calcutta Review*, through the kindness of my friend Dr. George Smith. It now appears in a somewhat extended form, and will be found more or less applicable to the varied Excavations of Western India, which in reality have much in common, notwithstanding the differences which exist in the religious systems which they represent.

J. W.

Cliff, Malabar Hill, Bombay,
November 1875.

THE

RELIGIOUS EXCAVATIONS

OF

WESTERN INDIA.

The East distinguished for its Antiquarian Wonders.

Every country of the East has its own peculiar antiquarian wonders, illustrating its ancient history, and the powers, resources, and occupations of the early generations of its peoples. In Egypt, 'the land of ancient kings' and ancient things, we find temples, obelisks, sphinxes, and excavated and structural tombs (among the last of which are the mimic mountains, the pyramids), with their no longer mysterious hieroglyphics, and with their still enduring paintings and drawings (on walls, pillars, tablets, sarcophagi, papyri, rings, seals, and other moveable objects), still recording the names, genealogies, enterprises, and exploits of these kings, from Menes to Ptolemy; and unfolding the social and religious life, and manners and customs, of the people over whom they ruled, and

of the tribes and nations which were tributary to them or held in bondage by them, or with whom they maintained commercial intercourse. In the Mount Sinai peninsula we have the inscriptions on numerous rocks and stones (in the Written Valley and other localities), recording the names and simple prayers of Nabathæan and Arabian shepherds, wanderers, and pilgrims to that hallowed locality; and the monuments and excavations and cuttings of Megharah, Sarabut al-Ḳhádim, and the north of the Mukattab, revealing to us the mining system of the Pharaohs from the eighteenth to the eighth century before the Christian era, when the man of cunning employed by them put forth his hand upon the rock, overturned the mountains by the roots, and by his eye searched every precious thing.* On the summit of Mount Hor we find the oft-constructed and renewed tomb of the venerable Aaron, the brother of Moses; and, embosomed in its neighbouring Seir, the pride and glory of Edom, what, so early as the times of the Israelitish David and Amaziah, was denominated Selah, the city of the rock (in Greek Petra), the name which it still bears, and whose excavated tombs, temples, cisterns, aqueducts, and private

* See *Lands of the Bible*, by the author, vol. i., pp. 183-199.

dwellings, with their beautiful façades and colonnades, in union with what a French traveller calls 'the most enchanting picture which nature has 'wrought in her grandest mood of creation,' form the most wonderful combination of art and nature to be found in the world. In the land of Israel, as at Hebron at the tomb of Abraham, still bearing alike with Jew and Arab the designation of the 'Friend of God,' and in the remains of the temple enclosure at Jerusalem, we have specimens of the Phœnician masonry, procured by Solomon, more than cyclopean in dimensions. At B'aalbek in Cæle-Syria, and at the neighbouring Palmyra in the wilderness, we have the remains of the boldest, noblest, grandest, and most magnificent architecture which, in the judgment of both science and taste, has yet been erected on the face of the globe. Mesopotamia, the seat of the most ancient empires in the world, has yielded, from its disentombed palaces, the records and illustrations,—graven with an iron pen on stone, or printed on clay, or painted on the facings of the walls,—of the earliest monarchs of the earth, extending to upwards of two thousand years before Christ, and of the Assyrian or Babylonian sovereigns from Tiglathpelezer I., B.C. 1150, down to Nabonidus, of the sixth century before our own era. At Behistun, in

Persia, the history of the Achæmenian kings has been found briefly written, in an autobiographical form, with more than the precision, though with less than the simplicity, of Herodotus; while Persepolis and its neighbourhood furnish memorials of their enterprise which are not to be despised either by genius or art, though they are not altogether of an original character. India has its structural temples, its *stúpas* or '*topes*,' its pillars, its *láṭhs*, its tablets, and its *shâśanas*, and above all its rock excavations, which reveal its character and resources in the days of old, indicate its early advancement in a peculiar civilization, and throw great light on the history of its varying religion, and the manner and means of its sustentation and propagation.

Research of the Nineteenth Century.

These wonders, so far as they have been observed, we need scarcely say, have for many ages, till lately, been addressing more the imagination than the intelligence of man. Though the monuments and memorials of those who made the earth to tremble, who did shake kingdoms, they had long ceased to tell the story, or even to indicate the names, of their authors. None of the sons of the countries in which they are found could unfold their

mysteries. Though patent to all, they were but little understood, even by the curious travellers and antiquarians from the lands of light. Their re-interpretation, after ages of forgetfulness, was reserved for the nineteenth century. The hieroglyphical engravings and enchorial writings of Egypt were unbroken mysteries till our own age produced its Youngs, Champollions, Wilkinsons, Rosselinis, Lepsiuses, and Bunsens. The written rocks of Sinai only set their beholders a-dreaming (as they still do in the case of some visionaries), till deciphered and translated by a Beer and a Tuch within little more than a quarter of a century. It was in our own childhood that the enterprising Burckhardt entered the natural gateways of Petra, and who by his descriptions allured to it at a later day a Laborde and a Linant and others, who have given us the veritable picture of the whole locality, with rational explanations of most of its peculiarities. Pilgrims to Jerusalem could point us to innumerable spots for the identification of which no data are to be found, as that at which the cock crew to the apostle Peter; but they could not even observe till a short time ago the gigantic foundations and structures of the ages of Solomon and of Herod. The pencil and pen of a Wood and a Dawkins, in 1751, could most accurately pourtray

the temples of B'aalbek and the palaces of Palmyra; but historical light on these unsurpassed structures has, in any considerable degree, been a late communication to the curiosity of Europe. The excavation and interpretation of the tablets and sphinxes and stellæ of Nineveh was only accomplished, a few years ago, by our Bottas and Layards. The inscriptions of Behistun, though partially copied and deciphered by others, were not read till the appearance of our own Rawlinson. The antiquities of India were all ascribed by the natives of the country to the warrior *Páṇḍavas* in their mythical and heroic character, and viewed as homogeneous embodiments of Hinduism, till their special and varied characters as belonging even to different religious systems, Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jaina, were pointed out and expounded by the learned William Erskine of Bombay; and till their inscriptions began to be deciphered by a Prinsep, a Wathen, and their friendly associates. The antiquities of India were not only not understood, but completely misinterpreted, till they passed under observation and research in our own time. Natives and Europeans alike fell into what must now appear the most palpable errors respecting them. With the Bráhmans, the Buddhist *Dhágobs* (symbols of greatness or

receptacles of relics) at Kárlá and other places were only enormous *Lingas*. With the same parties, at Elora, the *Thérawáḍá* or monastery, the residence of the Théros (monks), was the *Dhéḍawáḍá*, or abode of the outcast Dhédas; *Buddha* himself in his deepest abstraction was the Brahmanical artificer, *Vishvakarma* holding his cut finger in his workshop; and the Buddhist and Jaina temples to the north were the Brahmanical *Jagannátha Sabhá*, the *Indra Sabhá*, and so forth. Buddhism, to which the most extensive and magnificent remains belong, was completely ignored by them. Europeans made scarcely more absurd descriptions and interpretations of what fell before their notice, or entered the sphere of their research.

Marvellous Narrative of De Couto.

The Portuguese historian De Couto, founding on the accounts given by his countrymen resident in India, thus speaks of the caves of Kánhérí in Salsette:—'In the centre of this island there 'exists that wonderful Pagoda of Canari, thus 'called from its being supposed to have been the 'work of the Canaras.* It is constructed at the

* Kánhérí is the native name of the place, from *Kánhá* + *giri* = the Hill of Kánhá, now contracted and corrupted.

'foot of a great hill of stone, of light grey 'colour; there is a beautiful hall at its entrance, 'and in the yard that leads to the front back-door 'there are two human figures engraved on the 'same stone, twice as big as the giants exhibited 'on the procession on the Corpus Christi Feast 'in Lisbon, so beautiful, elegant, and so well exe-'cuted, that even in silver they could not be 'better wrought and made with such perfection. 'This front door has some cisterns hewn out of 'the same rock, which receive the rain-water, and 'it is so cold in the summer that there is no hand 'that can bear it. From the foot to the top of 'the hill there are more than three thousand 'small rooms like cells, cut out of the same rock, 'in the shape of snail-shells, and each of them 'has a cistern with the same water at the door; 'and what is more to be wondered at is, that 'there is an aqueduct constructed so ingeniously 'that it passes through all the three thousand 'apartments, receives all the water from that 'hill, and supplies it to the cisterns that are 'at the doors of the room. During the 'residence of the Rev. Fre Antonio de Porto 'in the church of St. Michael, he was told by the 'Christians whom he had converted that there 'was a labyrinth in that hill whose end had

'never been traced, and it was moreover stated
'that it extended as far as Cambay. The priest,
'desirous of getting in to see this wonder and
'the magnitude of this work about which so
'much was said, took one of his companions,
'and collected twenty persons with arms and
'matchlocks to defend themselves against wild
'beasts, and some servants to carry the necessary
'provisions for the journey, *viz.* water, rice,
'biscuits, vegetables, etc., and some oil for the
'torches which were taken to light the place
'in order that they might see their way through;
'and they also took three persons provided with
'bundles of strong ropes for the purpose of
'laying alongside of their way as they proceeded,
'as was done by those who entered the labyrinth
'of Crete. Thus prepared, they entered the caves
'by an entrance about four fathoms in breadth,
'where they placed a large stone, to which they
'fastened the point of the ropes. They travelled
'through the caves for seven days, without any
'interruption, through places some of them wide,
'and others narrow, which were hollowed in the
'rock, and on each side they saw small chambers
'like those in the Pagoda above mentioned, each
'of which had at its entrance a cistern, but no
'one could say whether these cisterns contained

'any water, or how they could receive any, for 'in all these passages they could not discover any 'hole, crevice, or anything which could throw 'any light on the subject. The upper part of the 'building was cut out of the same rock, and the 'walls on each side of these roads were done in 'the same way. The priest, seeing that they had 'expended seven days without being able to find 'any opening, and that the provisions and water 'had been almost consumed, thought it necessary 'to return, taking for his clue the rope, without 'knowing in these windings whether he was pro-'ceeding up or down, or what course they were 'steering, as they had no compass for their 'guidance. Having seen that these priests tra-'velled through it seven days without taking any 'rest, except at dinner and sleeping hours, they 'must have travelled at least six leagues every 'day, which in seven days would amount to forty-'two leagues, it appears to me that what the 'Hindus say, that it reaches as far as Cambay, 'may be true, because the island of Salsette at 'most is only four leagues long, and the labyrinth 'is in the centre of the island. To say that the 'roads could have many windings, and be so in-'tricate as to make them spend seven days, is 'impossible, the island (as I said) being very

'small and narrow.' Here are chambers and tunnels with a witness!—tunnels which, in their length and windings, reduce those on the Bhor and Thal Ghâts (so eloquently discoursed of by the learned president of the Mechanics' Institute, their great inventor and superintendent) to comparatively small dimensions! *Credat Judæus Apelles, non ego.**

Nonsense of Faber.

Even our own learned Faber, so late as 1803, founding on the descriptions of Elephanta given by Mr. Maurice and others, could indite the following nonsense:—'The five-headed Brahmâ '[two heads are *imagined* to be behind the three 'of the *trimúrti* seen by visitors] is an hieroglyphical representation of Noah, his three sons, 'and his allegorical consort the ark. At the 'termination of the deluge, the patriarch lost

* The passages in De Couto referring to the Religious Excavations were first brought to our notice by the late Bishop Prendergast. The passage quoted above is from the *Jour. of the Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, to which it was communicated by the Rev. W. K. Fletcher. The excavations at Kánhérí have been found by the Messrs. West, who have published accurate delineations of them (including their inscriptions), showing them to be only a hundred in number. From none of them is the light of day excluded.

'his fifth head, the ark [as Brahmá did in the 'Hindu legendry], which in the language of 'fable was said to have been cast off by him that 'moves upon the waters; but from the blood 'which flowed from it the whole race of animals 'was reproduced; or, in other words, the animals 'which were destined to stock the new world 'issued from the womb of the ark. The cavern 'of Elephanta, then, being nothing more than a 'helio-arkite grotto, we shall find no difficulty 'in discovering the reason why the compound 'bust of Noah and his three sons was placed 'within it; why precisely eight figures guarded 'the doors; and why the disgraceful symbols of 'Bacchus, Attis, Osiris, or Mahádeva occupied 'so conspicuous a place in the sacellum.'

Most important Antiquities of India.

The most important of all the antiquities of India are its Excavations, and the topes and rock inscriptions which are associated with them. They are the greatest works of the ancient, though not the most ancient, Indians, who, it appears, both from the paintings at Ajanṭá and the inscriptions at Kárlá and Kánhérí, had the partial assistance of Greeks or of Bactrians in their execution. They are all, with few exceptions, in the mountainous

ranges and insular hills in the neighbourhood of Bombay; and they are there as if for the very purpose of being compared with our own gigantic railway works now proceeding.* There are about fifty large groups of them in the Sahyádri range of mountains and in their offshoots, to make the ascent and descent of which the resources of our engineering and mechanical skill are at present so effectively and boldly applied. We have incidentally heard the natives actually making for us a comparison of them with the railway works, and giving the preference to these railway works on the ground of extent, labour, ingenuity, and utility. It is no longer a difficulty to the missionary, which we have all often felt, to make manifest to the Indians the mere human origin of the excavations, unless indeed with such parties as we have seen specimens of, who consider the railway engineers themselves a species of demigods. Yet the excavations are wonderful, all things considered, for their number, magnitude, and artistic execution. To this remark those especially who have visited Elephanta, Sáshṭí (Salsette), Kudá, Kárlá, Junír, Násik, Elora, Aurangábad, Ajanṭá, and other localities will readily as-

* See Appendix (A).

sent. Thousands of men, directed by skilful contrivers and superintendents, must have been employed upon them for many years, nay for centuries, as will appear when their origin and age are considered.

The origin of consecrated Caves it is not difficult to understand. Natural grottoes made by the fissure and abrasion of rocks, both vertical and horizontal, and the introduction into them of water currents, have doubtless in all countries suggested the idea of artificial grottoes, especially after the use of them by various classes of partial troglodytes in different countries, as the earlier races of men spread themselves over the face of the world. Both classes of grottoes early became associated with the mysteries of religion and superstition ; and were converted into the shrines of idols and oracles and into the dens of sibyls, as is well known to all who are acquainted with the literature of Greece and Rome.

Caves of India.

The artificial excavations of India,—and which in their inscriptions are denominated *Selgharas* (S. *Shailgrihas*), Rock-Mansions, and *Lénas* (from the S. *Layanam*), Ornamentations, so called from their images and figures,—are all of a religious character, belonging to three distinct religious

systems, the Buddhist, the Brahmanical, and the Jaina, as was at first proved by their mythological figures, and is now most satisfactorily established by their inscriptions. Natives of intelligence have of course all along understood the figures in the Brahmanical caves, because they are in accordance with the latest developments of their recognized mythology,—though they sometimes went wrong in their interpretation of their groups, and had forgotten their history. Their desire to claim the merit of the Buddhist and Jaina excavations, coupled with their slight acquaintance with the history and symbols of these systems, tempted them, in violation of their palpable indications, to associate them with Brahmanism.

Buddhist Excavations.

The Buddhist excavations are the most ancient, numerous, and diversified. They are principally of the following species :—

1. *Chetyagharas* (S. *Chaityagrihas*) *or Temples.*

These are generally of an oblong form, with lofty roofs, of a semicircular or horse-shoe curve, and in some instances associated with wooden rafters,—sometimes, as at Kárlá (where the best specimen of a *Chaitya* is to be found), in a wonderful state of preservation. In the front of each

Chaitya, there is a wall or screen with a gallery above (perhaps devoted of old to musicians), and pierced by a principal and two side doorways, and also sometimes an outer screen. A colonnade, with the pillars generally highly ornamented with sculpture on their capitals, though sometimes plain, goes round the Chaitya. At its inner extremity, but exterior to the colonnade, is a *Dhágob* (from the Sanskrit *Dhátugarbha*, the receptacle of elements) or *Déhagupta* (the holder or concealer of a body)—a mass of rock or erection, enclosing, in an interior hole hid from view, some supposed relic of *Shákya Muni* or *Buddha*, or of some of his more distinguished followers. The screen here referred to, as at Kárlá and Kánhérí, has sometimes interesting groups in alto-relievo representing Buddha himself, and parties, principally of the aboriginal tribes, come to do him obeisance. Two recesses bounded by this screen in front, but with lofty sides, with two gigantic figures as at Kánherí, or with elephants with numerous figures surmounting them as at Kárlá, or without ornament, form the porch of the temple. Exterior to this porch at the principal Chaityas are ornamental or commemorative *Stambhas* — pillars, generally monoliths hewn like the temples out of

the living rock. That at Kárlá is denominated, on an inscription which it bears, the 'Lion-pillar,' a designation easily understood from the figures forming its capital. Near the entrances to the Chaityas are often small *Dahgobs*, either monoliths or structures of the form of the interior Dahgobs, but devoted to the commemoration of parties inferior to Shákya Muni himself. At various places in their neighbourhood are *Stúpas*, or 'topes,' resembling these Dahgobs—mounds covering the ashes of distinguished Buddhist teachers. The most remarkable 'topes' in India are of a structural kind, as those of Manyakálí in the Panjáb, described by the late Professor Wilson in his learned work entitled *Ariana Antiqua*, and at Bhilsa, so full and ably described by Colonel Cunningham of the Bengal Engineers.

2. *Viháras, or Monasteries.*

These were designed for the accommodation of the Buddhist *Bhikshus*, or mendicant monks, dwelling together as cenobists; the individual cells, or smaller abodes of the monks, being denominated *Bhikshu-grihas*. They are often very capacious, with large halls in their centre, and are sometimes of two or three storeys, as at Elora and Kárlá, where they are called the

Dontál, Tintál, etc. The villages near the caves sometimes bear the name of Vihárgáum or Vehergáum (corrupted into Yedagáum), as was formerly the case with the village in Salsette now covered with the Vihár lake, from which the water-pipes in Bombay are supplied, and is still the case with the village below the hill in which the caves of Kárlá are situated.

3. *Detached Bhikshu-Gṛihas, Hermitages,—literally Mendicants' Houses.*

These were intended for the monks who lived not as cenobists, but hermits. Their cubicula, or couches, as well as those of the cenobists, are all of the living rock, and must never have been of a luxurious character.

4. *Buddha-Shálás or Bhikshu-Sangha Buddha-Gṛihas, or Halls of Buddha.*

These are generally square or oblong Halls, with or without cells, for the public instruction or consultation of the monks, whose common audiences were probably addressed *sub claro cælo,* or in temporary tabernacles—on the occasion of their great festivals, or at their own residences when the monks wandered abroad.

5. *Dharmashálás, or Charitable Lodging-Houses.*

These were intended for the temporary accommodation of the pilgrims and other parties who visited the monks on festival occasions or at other seasons. An example of this class of excavations is contiguous to the Chaitya at Kánhéri in Salsette.

6. *Annasatras, or Food Dispensaries.*

These were excavations, or apartments of excavations, devoted to the issue of food to pilgrims and travellers. Hospices of this character, greater or smaller, are still to be found in all parts of India, though frequently in a decayed or decaying state, from the appropriation by their administrators of their regal and other endowments.

7. *Pondhis, or Cisterns.*

These are reservoirs for the supply of water, brought to them by numerous small drains and cuttings extending over the hills on which the excavations occur. Many of them are but little reached by the sun. Hence the comparative coolness of their waters, noticed in such an exaggerated form by the Portuguese annalist whom we have already quoted.

It is many years since we substantially made this arrangement of the Buddhist excavations. It was afterwards confirmed by their inscriptions, as read both by my learned friend the late Dr. Stevenson and myself.

9. *The Idols or Figures of the Buddhist Excavations.*

The figures of Buddha (Shákya Muni, the most effective propagator of intellectual atheism predominant in Buddhism), of course, abound in the Buddhist excavations. They are exactly similar to those in use in the present day in the different countries to which Buddhism has been carried from India,—in Népál, Tartary, Ceylon, Barmah, Siam, China, and even Japan, as appears from wood engravings lately received from that distant country. They are represented in a variety of postures,—standing, sitting, or squatted,—sometimes with the feet drawn up and the knees protruded, sometimes with one foot up and another down, and sometimes with both feet on the ground; and as receiving worship and enthronization, as dispensing blessings, or as engaged in contemplation. They are almost uniformly destitute of such monstrosities as a plurality of heads, legs, arms, etc.,—as are noticed in Brahmanical images. They are all of one type, as far as the expression

of intellect is concerned; and the conception of them indicates little life, genius, or reflection. Abstraction seems to be their general characteristic. Though of stone, they have all the stiffness of wooden models, which may have been brought from afar to be copied when they were hewn. According to the Buddhist conceit of beauty, many of them have curled hair and pendant lips, as of an African type.* One of the most interest-

* Mr. Hodgson of the C.S. (long Resident at Népál), to whom we are indebted for the first acquisition of the Buddhist literature, when examining the priest whose answers form the substance of his most interesting 'Sketch of Buddhism,' put to him the question, 'What is the reason for Buddha being represented with curled locks?' and he received the following answer:—'Adi Buddha was never seen. He is merely light. But in the pictures of Kairochina and the other Buddhas we have the curled hair; and since in the limbs and organs we discriminate thirty-two (*lakshanas*) points of beauty, such as expansion of forehead, blackness of the eyes, roundness of the head, elevation of the nose, and archedness of the eyebrow; so also the having curled locks is one of the points of beauty, and there is no other reason for Buddha's having been represented with curled locks.' Mr. Hodgson adds in a note:—'This is the true solution of a circumstance which has caused much idle speculation; though the notion is, no doubt, an odd one for a sect which insists on tonsure.' The colours of the five Dhyáni-Buddhas are as follows:—Kairochina's appropriate colour is white; Akshobya's blue; Ratno Sambhava's yellow or golden; Amiraba's red; and Amogha Siddha's green.

ing of them, at Ajanṭá, of gigantic dimensions, represents the death of Buddha. The sage in the scene is lying in a horizontal position. His earthly servants, standing round his couch, are overcome with sorrow and grief, while a band of heavenly choristers above are frantic with joy at the supposed liberation or extinction of his spirit. The figures attendant on or doing obeisance to Buddha, which are introduced into the sculptures for the purposes of ornament, indicate more liberty and art than we see in the case of their master, the original images of whom seem to have been followed without variation,—though some of them are in forms and attitudes of a grotesque character. On the ceilings and walls of some excavations, as those of Ajanṭá, are very remarkable paintings, evidently of Grecian or Bactrian origin,—for the figures are far superior to those which we find on the Hindu coins of the same age. These paintings, the copying of which occupied Major Gill and his assistants for many years, illustrate the occupations and manners and customs of the former inhabitants of this country, and even of the foreign peoples with whom they held intercourse. It is evident from them that, though the Buddhist monks withdrew their own consecrated persons from the evil world, when

they betook themselves to their monasteries and hermitages, they liked to be surrounded in their solitude by the pictures and images of its pomps and vanities. Mr. Griffiths, of the Bombay School of Arts, has lately most successfully copied some of the most striking of the Ajanṭá figures.

Structural Buildings associated with Buddhist Excavations.

We have no doubt that there were originally structural buildings associated with the Buddhist excavations. One used as a stable for elephants is referred to, in a fragmentary inscription in the cave character, in a large stone found at Kánhéri by the late lamented Mr. Henry West. There are remains of extensive foundations, in some instances with holes for wooden pillars, on the Kánhéri hill, or, as it is called in the inscriptions, the hill of *Kánha-Kánhéri* (to which we formerly diffidently gave another etymology), being probably a contraction of *Kánhágiri*, the mountain of Kánhá.

Situation of Buddhist Excavations.

The Buddhist excavations have generally an interesting situation, amidst picturesque, or wild, or sublime scenery. They had sometimes gardens in their neighbourhood for the raising of vegetables and the culture of flowering and fruit trees,

the representatives of which, as known to our botanists, to some extent exist to the present day. The grove at *Lonálá* or *Lonávalí* (corrupted from *Lenávalí*) the Grove of the Lena, was probably connected with the establishment at Kárlá, distant from it only three or four miles. It was a favourite resort of the late accomplished and observant Mr. John Graham, who found trees and bushes at it but now seldom seen in other parts of the country, some of which were probably introduced into the locality by Buddhist pilgrims and monks.

The general Characteristics of the Brahmanical *Excavations.*

The Brahmanical excavations are principally *Temples*—either representing the interior of such places of worship, as at Elephanta, or both their interior and exterior, as is the case in the example of the superb temple of *Kailása* at *Elora*. They are all, without exception, dedicated to *Shiva*, and distinguished by the different forms of that deity and of the members of his family, and of the later gods of the Hindu pantheon subordinated to Shiva. To understand them, we have to attend to the Hindu conception of the deity to whom they are dedicated, philosophically and mythologically considered. Shiva is not a god of the ancient A'rya people, from whom the Bráhmans and the

whiter races of the natives are sprung, who were general types of the visible powers of nature. He is not once mentioned in the ancient Védas, though the Bráhmans wish to find him in *Rudra*, there set forth as the god of storms. He is not even observed in the collection of laws attributed to Manu. His name etymologically means 'he of whom growth, increase, or prosperity is.' Hence he is the god of the productive power of nature, in some respects not unlike *Savitṛi* of the Vedas, *Pashupati*, lord of beasts, with the *trishúla* or trident, *pásha*, or net, and the bull called *Nandí* as his *váhana* or conveyancer; and *Shankara*, the god of prosperity. As the material prosperity of the inhabitants of the Indian plains and valleys was dependent to a great extent on the rivers issuing from the Himálaya mountains, he was viewed as *Girísha*, the lord of mountains, his wife being *Párvatí*, the 'mountain-born' (from *Parvata*, a mountain), and *Durgá*, the 'daughter of mountains.' Associated with the eternal snows of these mountains, he was viewed as a penitent or ascetic, and the chief of ascetics, with a great many corresponding names. Conceived to be located among constant storms, he easily absorbed the name of *Rudra* found in the Védas, though, as we have already hinted, it did not originally belong to him; and he thus

became the god of destruction and death, adorned with a necklace of skulls or human heads, and possessed of a third eye or most prominent brow. He became also *Hara*, an ancient god of power, and is known by the name of *Mahábaléshvara*, the 'lord of great power.' The *linga* (or sexual symbol) is not mentioned as one of his images or symbols in either of the epic poems, the *Rámáyaṇa* or *Mahábhárata*, or in the *Amarkosha*, the dictionary of Amar. This symbol seems to have been transferred to him from the aborigines of the south of India He was originally a popular god, adopted by the Bráhmans, like Vishṇu, in the non-Vedic sense; and hence the name of *Maháděva*, or the great god, and its various synonyms. Perhaps the original idea of him was got from the Sun, viewed, not as the lord of day, but as the great source of nourishment, increase, and decay. Mythological analogy is in favour of this conjecture, the bull in Egypt and other countries having been sacred to the Sun. In later times the Bráhmans having found the three functions of creation, preservation, and destruction, attributed in the Upanishads and other philosophical treatises to Brahma, conceived of as the original and universal self or spirit, gave one of them to *Brahmá*, the god whom they had invented as the god of prayer

and sacrificial rites; another of them to *Vishṇu*, also in his general characters a new conception; and the third to *Shiva*. The followers of Śkîva in the south were dissatisfied with this arrangement; and they claimed all these functions,—yet paying deference to their respective personifications,—for their preferred popular god Shiva, whom they exalted in their sectarial zeal to the highest honour, as set forth in the Shiva, Linga, and other Puráṇas of the same class.

Brahmanical Caves exemplified at Elephanta.

A characteristic example of the Brahmanical caves is to be found at *Elephanta*, the well-known, beautiful, and easily accessible island in the Bombay Harbour, with the form, size, and appearance of which very many are doubtless familiar. We confine our remarks upon these caves at present to their principal mythological sculptures and their import.

I. Fronting the entrance of the large temple, but at its extremity, is the great *trimúrti*, or image with three heads combined together, about nineteen feet in height, though it extends only from the shoulders upwards. This is *Shiva* possessed of the three functions—of creation, preservation, and destruction just alluded to, and personified with the

active attributes ascribed respectively to Brahmá, Vishṇu, and Shiva. The front face is that of Shiva as *Brahmá*, the god of prayer or the word, in whom the creative energy is thought to centre. The face to the right of the spectator is that of Shiva as *Vishṇu*, the god of preservation, recognized by his purer appearance and his symbol, the lotus. The face to the left of the spectator is that of *Shiva*, as the destroyer, recognized by his fiercer aspect, the feline moustache, the slabbering lip, the terrific serpents in his hand and forming his hair, his prominent brow, and the skull near his temples. This composite bust, which is unique in point of size and execution, is remarkable for its head-dresses representing simple royal *mukuṭas* or diadems with pearl pendents and precious stones set in gold or silver, and necklaces and earrings and other ornaments mixed with curled locks, which throw light on the capital and thoracic adornments of the kingly natives before the introduction of the turban. It was almost perfect till a few years ago, when some thoughtless or mischievous visitors broke off a portion of the noses of two of the figures. Though it represents a triad of comparatively modern invention, it is in unison with such a triad of deities as the Hindus, like other ancient peoples, have been

familiar with from the earliest times. We say distinctively a triad, for the detachment of the figures from the rock above shows plainly that no more than three faces were intended.

Four-armed Shiva and his wife Pârvatí.

2. To the spectator's right, from the *trimúrtí*, *Shiva*, in the form of the *Chatarbhujákár* or four-handed, and his wife *Párvatí*, appear standing upright with their attendants, some of whom below are jovial *gaṇas* and *pisháchas*, mythological demons belonging to their suite,* while those in the aërial regions above are specimens of famishing devotees and ascetics, of which Shiva himself, as we have already hinted, is the chief. What is to be particularly noticed in this group, and in others which the visitor himself will observe, is the presence of the other deities of the Hindu pantheon, in a wholly subordinated form and position,—Párvatí, without any monstrosity †; Brahmá, with his four faces (three only of which are visible), seated upon his *váhana* (wagon) of geese (emblems of wisdom); *Indra*, upon his elephant *Airávatí*; and *Vishṇu*, mounted

* See Appendix B.

† There seems to be no monstrosity in any of the perfect female forms in these caves.

upon the personified *Garuḍa,* the lord of eagles, by whom he is thought to fly through the sky.

Shiva—united with the Trimúrtí.

3. To the spectator's left, from the *trimúrtí,* Shiva and Párvatí appear as *Arddhanareshvara* in a half-male and half-female form (agreeably to a well known Hindu legend), with the gods above noted, and male and female attendants allotted to them respectively, and with adoring ascetics above. In this group, Nandí, the *váhana* or conveyancer of Shiva, appears, not in the species of the domestic bull, but that of the forest *Gava,* the *Bos Gavæus* of naturalists, mentioned in the Védas as an article of food. There is more poetry in connecting Shiva with the *Gava* than with the domestic bull, as commonly done. In but few of the Shiva sculptures in general does the tiger, the *váhana* of *Párvatí* or *Durgá,* appear.

Marriage of Shiva to Párvatí.

4. The spectator, passing No. 2 to the left, now finds, behind the sacellum containing the symbol of Shiva, a group representing the *marriage of Shiva to Párvatí,* with the bashful bride pushed forward by a ministering attendant on the right of the bridegroom, a position which she occupies only on the day of marriage. Close to Shiva is a

priest holding a vessel with the substances for the bridal unction. The other gods, etc., are here (as in the other groups), with Brahmá sitting in the corner. This group, with others to be noted, has its counterpart connected with the domestic life of Shiva, in the *Dúmár Léṇá* at Elora.

Shiva as Bhairava, the Formidable.

5. Close to the sacellum on the opposite wall of the temple is Shiva in his character of *Bhairava*, the formidable, fierce in countenance, with swollen eyes, and set lips; with a garland of human heads suspended from his neck, instead of the Brahmanical string; with eight hands (now partly broken), all employed in effecting, *horribile dictu vel visu*, a human sacrifice, that of a child. This child he holds upraised in one hand, while he has a bare sword to strike the fatal blow in another, a bell to intimate the appointed moment in a third, and a vessel to receive the blood in a fourth. A fifth hand, with its arm now wanting, holds a screen to be dropped when the awful event occurs. The ascetics above, represented with considerable art, are in horror and amazement at this development of the destructive powers of their master. This group is seen to most advantage when the sun is upon it. In the

centre of their row occurs the mystical trisyllabic symbol *Aum* (*Om*), applied as comprehending each person of the triad, as if the essence of Hinduism were here concentrated in it.

A Scene in Kailása.

6. Crossing the temple, to the corresponding apartment on the other side, we have a scene of a very different kind,—*Shiva and Párvatí in the enjoyment of connubial bliss* in their heaven or *cœlum*, the *Kailása* of the Hindus, upheld, when shaken by the many-headed and many-handed *Rávaṇa*, the demon king of Lanká.

Shiva and Párvatí in another aspect.

7. Directly opposite to this group is another, also illustrative of the domestic life of Shiva and Párvatí, husband and wife showing signs of *dissatisfaction* with and aversion to one another. Both these personages appear in superior and less injured form, at the *Dúmár Léṇá* at Elora, from the inspection of which their real character is to be ascertained.

Shiva as an ascetic.

8-9. In the great temple, the groups at the entrance represent *Shiva sitting as an ascetic*, with accompaniments the same as in other instances. The position in which he is squatted is a

favourite one with Hindu devotees, even with the Buddhists.

The Side Chapels.

We pass over the symbolic *Sacellum* with its gigantic guardians. Of the two *Chapels*, that to the left hand as we enter is the more important. In the court before it, which was long filled up with earth, there is a low circular platform, where the bull doing honour to the distant sacellum of the great temple, and that of this chapel, must have been placed,—not a vestige of it now remaining (sic transit gloria *Nandi!*). The leogriffs at the sides of the steps leading to the chapel were lately dug out of the accumulated earth now referred to. One of them is unfinished (as is the case with the exterior excavations on the way to the eastern landing-place of the island). To the right hand of the chapel is an apartment showing a procession of women carrying infants, etc., as on the occasion of a marriage, with *Shiva*, in his proper person, confronting his corpulent son *Ganapati*, with his large belly and elephant's head,—the substitute for his natural one, which he is said to have lost at his birth by the consuming glance of the god *Shani*, the planet Saturn, who clapped that of a passing

pachyderm upon him to pacify his mother displeased by his misfortune,—but without his *váhana*, the rat, on which, it is incongruously said, he takes air and exercise !*

Jaina Excavations also Temples.

So much for a specimen of the Brahmanical caves. The Jaina excavations are also principally temples. They are not numerous in the West of India; and it is rather difficult for the general visitor to distinguish them from those of the Buddhists, with whom the Jainas, as religionists, are intimately allied.† Some one of the twenty-four *Tírthankars* (S. *Tírthakaras*) or alleged emancipated Jinas (victorious ones), particularly *Párshvanátha Mahavíra*, occupies the chief places in them, while the other *Tírthakaras* occupy the verandas or secondary positions. The best specimens which we have seen of them are in the northern groups at Elora, the middle groups there being Brahmanical, and the southern Jaina. A very curious but unequivocal one we visited a

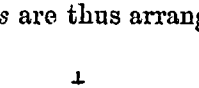
* See Appendix B.

† *Jaina* is the adjective form of *Jina*, the Conqueror, a very common name of Buddha. See the Mahávanso of Ceylon *passim*, beginning with the first page.

few years ago on the hill opposite the travellers' bungalow at Chandor (Chandrapur ?).

On seeing the entrance to it from a distance, we made inquiries about it of the natives, who told us that it is only a small niche for *Káliká* or *Dévi*. When we saw that they were by no means anxious that we should proceed to it, our suspicions were aroused, and we forthwith made the ascent. On opening a door with which it was closed, we found it to be a small Jaina place of worship, dedicated either to *Parasnátha* or *Neminátha*, with about a hundred monolithic figures, great and small, hewn out of the living rock, though from the door to the principal idol on the interior wall the distance is only about twenty-one feet, while the height is only eight. The principal *Nátha* is squatted in a not unusual form, with the soles of his feet turned up, and his palms placed in an accordant position, so emblematic of the abstract and dreamy contemplation for which the Jaina and Buddhist devotees take so much credit to themselves. His image is about four feet high, and has the lion and *chakra*, or wheel, below. On one side he has two male, and on the other two female attendants, standing. Elsewhere he is honoured by the services of the brute animals, being mounted both on an elephant and lion, tamed by his sanctity.

Near one of his figures the twenty-four *Tirthankars* are thus arranged :—



The unequivocal Jaina character of the excavation is thus revealed. One of its secondary *Náthas* has his sex changed, having been converted by the Bráhmans into a *Dévi* by a liberal besmearment with unguents and paint; and as such he is venerated by the people. *Dévi*, indeed, is now the sovereign of the place. It was never intended, when the shrine was thus transmogrified in her favour, that it should be visited by *Mléchcha* antiquarians. The sculpture in this cave is not bad. It may be about the same age as the Jaina temples at Elora.

Special interest in different groups.

The different groups of Caves in the West of India have, generally speaking, a peculiar interest of their own. In none of the Caves is there a *trimúrti* (triformal figure) so remarkable as that at Elephanta. The Buddhist life is best understood from the excavations of Salsette, though

they require much attention, not only from the visitant, but from the student and antiquarian. No such beautiful Chaitya, as already hinted at, is to be found in India, as that at Kárlá. Elora is pre-eminent for the variety and extent of its excavations, embracing Buddhism, Bráhmanism, and Jainism. In the adjoining Caves at Aurangábad, only as yet partially cleared out, we have perhaps the best specimens of architectural forms. Those of Ajanṭá are unrivalled for their paintings, both of personages and scenery. The best scenery is visible from the Caves of Násik, the inscriptions of which, too, are very valuable. Many of the caves which we have visited are not very accessible. The delineations which have been made of some of the Caves by Mr. James Wales, by volunteers acting under the direction of Mr. William Erskine, by Colonel Sykes, by Mr. James Fergusson, and by others, have been published, are greatly admired. Major Gill's accurate copies of the Ajanṭá paintings were sent to the Indian government at home. So were the oil-pictures, some of which are very elaborate, made by Mr. William Fallon. Mr. Johnson's photographs of the Elephanta and Kánhérí Caves are justly appreciated by the members of this community. Those which he has issued of the Caves at Kárlá have been

pronounced by competent judges to be among the best yet produced by the photographic art. The oil-pictures from Ajanṭá by Mr. Griffiths, of the Jejeebhoy School of Arts, are the most successful which have yet been executed.

A most important inquiry connected with the Caves is that which refers to their *age*, to the parties by whom they were constructed, and to the facts to be gleaned from their inscriptions.

Jaina Excavations the most modern.

The Jaina excavations are the most modern of those which have yet been brought to notice. In 1852, when examining that devoted to Parasnátha at Elora,—and which is evidently of the same workmanship as the larger Jaina excavations of that locality,—we observed an inscription giving the date of its formation *Shaka* 1156, equivalent to A.D. 1234, which makes the Jaina temples at Elora 641 years old at the present time. This date is corroborated by the fact that these Jaina temples,—which had probably for their authors the opulent Jaina ministers of the Rajput, Elichapur, and Devagiri Rájas,—have some imitations in their construction of the Brahmanical Kaïlása temples, to which they must consequently be posterior; and by the other fact, proved from the Jaina works at Abu and other places, that the

Jainas of Western India were about this time making great efforts to extend and to glorify their faith.

Brahmanical Excavations without date.

None of the Brahmanical excavations have, as far as we are aware, any existent contemporaneous inscriptions,—one at Elephanta having, it is said by DeCouto, been carried to Portugal, where no trace of it can now be found.* Yet the age of the Brahmanical excavations, we conceive, can be ascertained approximately. In 1850 we thus wrote respecting this matter:—

'Mr. Fergusson has made the important 'discovery that the Brahmanical *Kailása*, which 'strikes the beholder as the most remarkable 'of the whole (of the Elora groups), is formed 'after the type of some of the structural temples 'of the South of India, particularly the great pa-'goda at Tanjor; and he says—"I have no doubt '"in my own mind that the *Chola*, or at least '"some of the Karnáṭaka Rájas, were the exca-'"vators of this temple, and the restorers (rather '"propagators) of Shaivite worship in the '"Dekhan; my own impression is, that we must

* Yet a reputed descendant of Vasco de Gama showed Mr. Finlay, a traveller in Portugal, a slab on which Sir C. Wilkins had operated without success, as the documentum wanted.—Dr. Gerson da Cunha.

' " ascribe this either to Rája Rájendra or Kere Kálá
' " Cholan, and that consequently the date given
' " by Mir Ali Khan to Sir Charles Malet is very
' " near the truth, if applied to this excavation at
' " least, and that it was made in the first half of
' " the ninth century of our era." Commenting
' on this opinion, we added, " Works of such mag-
' nitude as the Kailása temples would require the
' wealth and enterprise of such sovereigns as the
' Cholas were. The resources of the local princes,
' the Chálukyas of the Dakhan, and of the Dévagiri
' Rájas, were quite inadequate to their execution,
' and that of the Elephanta and other Shaiva
' temples near Bombay. Somewhat posterior, in
' point of age, to Kailása, must be those Brahman-
' ical temples of Elephanta and Salsette, in which
' various imitations of the Brahmanical excavations
' of Elora appear. Looking at them collectively,
' we have long, on mythological grounds, been dis-
' posed to limit the age of the Brahmanical ex-
' cavated temples by the eighth or ninth century
' after Christ. On several of their figures the
' small box containing the linga, the emblem
' of Shiva, worn by the Lingáyats (as noticed by
' Mr. Erskine), is represented, and the Lingáyats
' (as a sect) did not appear in the South of India
' till considerable modifications were made, in the

'course of time, in the peculiar forms of Shaivism,
'introduced or supported by Shankara Áchárya.
'The Chola Rájas were the patrons of the Liṅgá-
'yats, who, to the worship of Mahádeva or Shiva,
'added the practice of the Yoga, without refer-
'ence to caste, with a view to final emancipation.
'Professor Wilson notices the profession of the
'Yoga in the eighth century, and he properly
'observes that the Brahmanical temples, in the
'subjects of their sculptures, and the decoration of
'Shiva and his attendants, belong to the same
'sect. It is remarkable that this form of the
'Hindu religion has vanished from the Maráṭhá
'country, which it is not likely it would have
'done had it enjoyed the continued patronage of
'the Dévagiri Rájás reigning over this locality,
'the last of whom was overcome by the Muham-
'madans, A.D. 1293.'

A more definite adjustment.

A remarkable corroboration of the general views here stated, but warranting a more definite adjustment of them, we obtained at Elora in January 1852. In the Jaina inscription already referred to, the name of the hill in which all the Elora excavations are made is the *Virolla Parvat,* or Mount of Virolla (of which the native *Virúla* or European *Elora* is a corruption). This word,

we have little doubt, is formed from the name of *Vira-chola,* one of the Chola Rájás, who flourished, according to one of the papers of the Mackenzie Collection, quoted by Professor H. H. Wilson (who mentions the extensive conquests of his race), about A.D. 916. This gives an antiquity to the most remarkable of the Brahmanical temples of Elora and those of Elephanta, which are of the same type, of about 944 years; or, to deal in round numbers, it makes them to fall at least within the present millennium. The *Jogeshvarí* Brahmanical temples of Salsette, however, are considerably more modern than those of Elephanta and Elora. The sculpture and architecture of them are not of the Southern Indian type, like those of the great works now mentioned, but of the Rajput or Gujarat types, as we see exemplified in various districts to the northward, as in Káṭhiáwáḍ, Pattan, and Mount Abu. Of the same character is the remarkable structural Shaiva temple of *Amarnátha,* about six miles from Kalyán, which, though of hard black basalt, shows a delicacy of workmanship which could be attained only by artizans accustomed to work in softer stone, the marble and sandstones of the north. Whether this work is to be attributed to the Devagiri Rájás, or the Rajput sovereigns of Anhilwara Pattan, we can-

not positively say. On many old Shaiva structural temples throughout the country, as well as on the caves, we have observed marks of violence, which we would attribute to the times of the Chálukyas, who, it appears from their inscriptions, were favourable to the *Vaishṇava* form of Hinduism.

Age of Buddhist Temples.

To ascertain the Age of the *Buddhist* temples in the West of India, we have to attend to the general history of Buddhism, and to the numerous inscriptions in an ancient character,—for long forgotten by the natives,—which they bear, especially at Kárlá, Kánherí, Násik, Kuda, and Ajanṭá. For our knowledge of that character, we need scarcely say, we are principally indebted to the late Mr. James Prinsep, whose attention it particularly attracted, especially as it is found on certain ancient Indian coins and the pillar at Delhi, though in Bombay, as well as in other parts of India, he had his coadjutors in the work of seeking a key to it, as he very cordially acknowledged. The key to the character was found by his tracing backwards,—from the current Devanágarí,—various forms of older letters, of which the Nágarí is the maturer type, adapted to more rapid writing than the original. Our own assurance respecting it was derived from a compari-

son of copperplate inscriptions, in the hands of Vishṇu Shástrí, in which we noticed the accordance in number and position of certain letters and words connected with initial salutations of the gods, and the royal signatures on other legible grants, which betokened an agreement in value in the respective characters, as was found to be the case when they were critically examined and compared. By following out this principle, we were able, during our visit to Europe, in 1844, to decipher certain papers in a concealed Indian hand which were essential to adjusting a decision passed by the Admiralty Court at the Cape, and which had long lain uninterpreted, and also to make out some of the most difficult letters which came into the hands of our vigilant officials during the late mutiny. We now see very clearly that the great trouble taken with the adjustment of the cave character would have been unnecessary if we had noticed sufficiently early its correspondence with the Phœnician and Greek alphabets, from a combination of which it is manifestly derived, with most ingenious adaptations to the orthoëpical expression of the Sanskrit and other languages, most creditable to the ingenuity of the Indians, or those by whom they were adapted to these languages.

General History of Buddhism as bearing on the Buddhist Excavations.

The general history of Buddhism, as it bears on the age of the Buddhist excavations, may be referred to in a very brief space. Towards the close of the Vedic age of the A'ryas, the chief professional priests, or Bráhmans, began to seek establishment as a caste, which was fully realized by them in the liturgical period, represented by the books called *Bráhmaṇas*, which considered the Védas as absolutely divine, put them under the care of professional priests, and set forth special rules for their use in sacrifice. To this exaltation of the Védas, founded on their age and religious character, the thought of India, represented by the schools of philosophy, ran directly counter. Yet the founders of these schools had not the courage to attack the Védas, even when, as in the case of *Kapila*, the originator of the Sánkhya or Numeral School of Philosophy, they taught doctrines subversive of all recognition of a providence, and of decided atheistic tendency. However, Shákya Muni, the founder of Buddhism, whose negation of providence and attributing of organic changes to nature and growth resembled the tenets of Kapila, in his opposition to the monopolies of the Brahmanic

caste and power, cared but little for the authority either of the Bráhmans or their books. He was of the kingly race: and he preached the doctrine of the admission of his fellowmen to religious position and privilege according to their study and ceremonial and moral discipline. A great religious revolution was the consequence of his preaching and that of his disciples, even before his death, which according to Professor Lassen occurred in the year 543, or according to Dr. Max Müller in the year 477, and according to Professor Westergaard 368–370 before Christ. To this revolution the Indian emperor Ashoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, the Sandracottus of the Greeks, who came to the throne B. C. 315, attached himself; and he proved the instrument of its extensive propagation in the provinces of India into which it had not previously found entrance. He is supposed on good grounds by Dr. Max Müller to have come to the throne B.C. 263; to have been inaugurated B. C. 259; and to have held a great Buddhist council B. C. 246 or 242. His Buddhist edicts are engraved on the rocks of Gírnár near Junágaḍh in Káṭhiáwáḍ, at Dhauli in Kaṭṭak, and at Kapurdi Giri in Afghanistan; and they have the date of B.C. 246. By this time Buddhism must have been most exten-

sively propagated in his vast dominions. Second and third Buddhist councils are attributed to him in the Mahavańsha of Ceylon; but Dr. Max Müller considers them problematical. It is in connexion with the last of them, which is said to have taken place in the seventeenth year of his reign, that the great propagation of Buddhism in the Maráṭhá Country is said to have taken place. The event is thus recorded:—

Propagation of Buddhism.

"The illuminator of the religion of the vanquisher, the thero (patriarch), son of Moggali, having terminated the third convocation, was reflecting on futurity. Perceiving (that the time had arrived) for the establishment of the religion of Buddha in foreign countries, he despatched severally, in the month of Kattiko, the following theros to those foreign parts. He deputed the thero Majjhantico to Kaśmíra and Gandhara (not Kandahar), and the thero Mahádevo to Mahisamandala (Mysore). He deputed the thero Rakkhito to Wanavasí (in the north of the Karnátaka), and similarly the thero Yona Dhamarakkhito to Aparantaka. He deputed the thero Mahá-Dhamarakkhito to Maháratta, and the thero Mahárakkhito to the Yona (Yavana, or Bactrian) country. He deputed the thero Majjhino to the

Himávanta country; and to Sowanabhumi, the two theros' sons and Uttaro. He deputed the thero Mahámahindo, together with his (Moggali's) disciples Ittiyo, Uttiyo, Sambalo, Bhaddasalo, to this island (Ceylon), saying unto these five theros, 'Establish ye in the delightful land of Lanká the 'delightful religion of the vanquisher.'* According to the Mahavañso, these missionaries obtained most marvellous success. Of the missionary to the Maráṭhá territory it is said:—'The sanctified 'disciple Mahá-Dhammarakkhito, repairing to 'Maháratta, preached the *Mahánaradakassapo* 'jatako (of Buddha). Eighty-four thousand per-'sons attained the sanctification of *magga* (*marga*, 'the way), and thirteen thousand were ordained 'priests by him.'†

Excavations posterior to this propagandism.

The execution of Caves in the Maráṭhá Country must have been contemporaneous with, or posterior to, this Buddhist propagandism. The southern group of caves at Elora, as has been remarked in my Second Memoir on the Cave Temples and Monasteries,‡ may be the oldest establishment of

* Turner's Mahávanso, p. 71.

† Mahavanso, p. 75.

‡ Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, September, 1852.

the kind in Western India,—as, comparatively speaking, it is in an open and easily approachable country, while many of the other establishments are in mountain recesses and passes; and as it is peculiarly simple in its character, and evidently the nucleus around which the other excavations in its neighbourhood, Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jaina, have been aggregated. This group, however, has no ancient inscription. It is otherwise with the caves at Kárlá, which, from their appearance, are probably next to them in point of antiquity. The founder of the elegant and capacious Chaitya there is referred to descriptively on the inscription in the largest letters there used, immediately above the elephants in the porch to the left hand as we enter. That inscription in Páli, transferred to Nagari characters, reads thus:—

वेजयंगीता सेठिगा भुतपालेन सेलघरं पतिनिठापितं
जंबदीपम्ही उतमं——

Or in Sanskrit—

विजयगीतेन श्रेष्ठिना भूतपालेन शैलगृहं परिनिष्ठापितं
जंबुद्वीपमध्ये उत्तमं.——

This must be translated either, 'By the victo-'rious and most exalted *Bhútapála*, this rock

'mansion has been established, the most excellent 'in Jambudvípa, (the generic name of India), or 'By the victorious and most exalted sovereign '(translating the word *Bhútapála*) this rock 'mansion has been established, the most excel-'lent in Jambudvípa.' The latter translation, we think, must be considered the correct one, or we should otherwise have the anomaly of a party mentioned without a designation, which is never the case, even on the inscriptions noticing the humblest gifts to the caves.* We hold that the inscription attributes the rock-cut temple 'to the "victorious and most exalted emperor,' whose name, in consequence of his celebrity, it was unnecessary to mention. This, we conceive, can be no other person but Ashoka himself. In this idea we are confirmed by the fact that his name is also not mentioned on the tablets at Girnár, Kapurdi-Giri, and Dhauli, which have been most clearly proved to belong to him.†

* We tried at one time to take the word *Séthina* before *Bhutapála* as the equivalent of 'By the Shét,' using the word as commonly applied to a principal citizen, merchant, or banker; but the epithet 'Victorious,' or, more fully, 'celebrated for victory,' forbids this idea. Bhútapála, literally a 'protector of beings,' moreover, is not the name of a Shét, but of a king or emperor.

† Professor Lassen, in a letter addressed to the writer, dated 22nd April, 1831, thus writes:—

Oldest Inscription to Ashoka.

Dr. Stevenson (whose decipherments are often very ingenious and successful) interprets the inscription as containing the name *Bhuti*, which applies to *Devabhuti*, the last of the Mauryan kings (about seventy years B. C.) ; but no legitimate decipherment and translation warrants this, while a collateral argument, founded by Dr. S. on an inscription on the lion-pillar, fails, from the evident misreading of the first word of that inscription. The works of Kárlá are not those of a perishing, but of a thriving dynasty. Dr. Stevenson himself finds the works of Ashoka at the Náná Ghát, near Junír; and, to say the least, the works at Kárlá seem fully as ancient when the character of the letters of the inscriptions is com-

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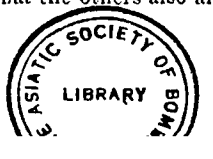
' I agree with you in identifying the king *Devánám Priya* ' *Piyadasi* of the inscriptions at Girnár and at other places ' with *Ashoka*. Besides the testimony of the *Mahávanso*, I ' adduce as a proof of their identity the repetition of that ' title by his successor *Dasharatha*, with the difference that ' he usually adds his own name to distinguish himself from ' his predecessor. Another instance of a title being used ' instead of a proper name by the Buddhists, is the name ' *Dharmavardhana* given to Ashoka's son *Kunála* (*Indische* ' *Alterthumskunde*, ii. 270). As *Ashoka's* authorship of the ' inscription found at Bhatra, in which he addresses the con- ' vention of *Magadha*, can hardly be doubted, it may be ' presumed that the others also are to be ascribed to him.'



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pared. To Ashoka, then, the victorious, somewhat past the middle of the third century before Christ, we attribute the oldest of our Buddhist excâvations in the West of India.

By whom secondary Inscriptions at Kárlá.

The inscriptions at these excavations mention the names of the parties by whom they were beautified and enlarged and increased, mostly in times somewhat later. These were principally provincial kings and princes, civil and military officers, opulent householders, citizens, artizans, Buddhist pilgrims, and monks, of various orders and habits, and even females. All the more important classes of the people seemed to delight to consecrate their substance to the glorification of Buddha and the advancement of the interests of his faith, which thus appears to have been far more popular than ever Bráhmanism was. To specimens of the religious assignations and gifts of individuals, as brought to notice in the inscriptions, we may here allude, as illustrative of these remarks. The lion-pillar at Kárlá, in connexion with which we take our specimens, was the gift of the general Agnimitra, the son of the Mahárathí (literally a great charioteer, but a designation of a provincial king or administrator) *Bhoti.*

The village of *Vihár,* near the caves, was assigned for the support of their religionists, in the seventh year of king *Vasishṭha by Mitradéva,* the son of the Maháraṭhí *Kaushika,* and by *Sómadéva,* the son of the Maháraṭhí *Vasishtha.* By a party whose name is obliterated, a donation of land, a place for refreshment of parties ascending the hill of the caves, a *Buddhasálá* (or hall of Buddha), a well, and some cells of accommodation, were bestowed on the establishment. By the liberality of another party the monks became the proprietors of the neighbouring village of Karanjá. By *Bhadrasoma,* a monk, two pairs of images were executed, which remain to this day. A pillar in the interior was the gift of a party expressly denominated a *Yavana* or Greek, supposed by ourselves, when we first drew attention to it, to be a *Theonikos,* and afterwards by Dr. Stevenson to be a *Xenocrates.* The name in *Páli* reads *Dhanakkaj* or *Dhanakak.* Perhaps it may be only an Indian appellation of the Greek derived from some compound of *Dhanushya,* a bow, the last syllable being hardened for accommodation to the Pálí. That this Greek had to do with the construction of the caves is exceedingly probable. All classes of the excavations already enumerated, and their immoveable appurtenances,

were often the gifts of individuals, quite independent of state resources. Various towns and villages, the residences of the donors to the caves at various places, are mentioned in the notices of the gifts, as Vehergáum and Karanjá (now named), Kalyán, Bharoch, Chandrapur (Chandor), etc. The words used for gifts are *dânam*, the correspondent of the Latin *donum*, and *deyadham*, for S. *Deyadharmma*, a religious assignation, and so forth. Some of the most liberal donations to the Buddhist establishments are recorded on the Násik excavations.

Extension of the Inscriptions.

The inscriptions extend, we are persuaded, over a period of seven or eight hundred years, if we take them to commence, as we do, with the time of Ashoka. This is quite consistent with the fact that the Chinese travellers, whose works have been lately translated, found Buddhism prevalent in India in the fifth and in the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era. The Bráhmans attribute its overthrow to Shankarácháryа, the great establisher of the Shaiva form of the Hindu religion in the south of India; but there was something more applied to its extinction than the arguments of that keen and subtle hero of

Brâhmanism. Throughout the Marâṭhâ Country, there are commemorative pillars (first brought to notice by Colonel Sykes) which have figures representing the destruction of the Buddhist religionists by armed warriors, and the dance and triumph of the bull of Shiva over them, and round the symbol with which it is usually associated. Terrible must have been the violence which extinguished such a popular system of religion as Buddhism in the very provinces in which it originated, and in which it was first propagated, though it has still such a hold of the great countries of Asia exterior to India. Though we mourn over the bloodshed by which it was annihilated, we do not regret that it has here perished. When the existence of a divine and intelligent and active providence is denied, as it was by the Buddhists, the soul of man is bereft of its supreme good and guide; and the universe of both spirit and matter is involved in the darkness and confusion of chaos. Its power, as a system, over the minds of men was certainly not so much in its speculations and doctrines, as in its discipline and its recognition of the right of all classes of men to advance in religious acquisition, distinction, and privilege, according to their study, profession, and practice.

We have not attempted to form a critical estimate of the excavations of the West of India as works of art; neither time nor space have permitted us to do this. Neither have we entered on such minute notices of their religious and historical import as long conversancy with them might have tempted us to do. We have aimed rather at those generalizations which are most interesting and important. We have here given the results of long continued and difficult research, begun and carried on from motives very different from that of the indulgence of the idle curiosity of one who merely gathers

> Intaglios rude, old pottery, and store
> Of mutilated gods of stone, and scraps
> Of barbarous epitaphs, to be
> Among the learned the theme of warm debate,
> And infinite conjecture sagely wrong.

Historical truth is not to be found so easily in India as in other countries of the world. It is here in a state of comparative purity, we regret to say it, only in the ancient monuments of the country. These monuments, which are of an unequivocal character, have best withstood the ravages of time, the great destroyer; and religious fraud, repelled by their venerable antiquity, or exhausted in the attempt to entomb their magni-

tude, or to annihilate their multitude, or to efface their permanent records, has failed to destroy them or to effect their corruption. They have survived the departure of their authors and the destruction of the religious systems to which they belonged; and they tell their own tale, in spite of their appropriation by sects and parties which had nothing to do with their origin, and many of which have come into existence subsequently to their execution and completion. They have proved too solid for the sledge-hammer of the Musalmán entirely to mutilate them, and too incombustible for the fires of the Lusitanian to consume or rend them in pieces. They still exist, though commonly in a decaying state, for comparison with the ancient literary remains of India, confirming what little of historical truth is to be found in these records, and illustrating their erroneous, though sublimated, speculations, and their wild and unbridled mythology, with all its perversions and exaggerations. They are the credentials of the genius, taste, wealth, and power of ancient India, showing the natural capacity of the peoples among whom we dwell. The interpretation and exposition of them by the European Orientalist to the simple natives who have access to them, have destroyed their belief

in their divine origin, and deprived the systems of living error around them of that veneration associated with them which they enjoyed when they were believed to be the undoubted property of these systems, and the veritable works of the gods who are now worshipped; while they have taught some of the learned natives the principles of historical investigation. They testify to all, of transactions and changes, both civil and religious, which have occurred in ages long gone by, among a people too long supposed to be immoveable in their creeds and customs, and to have preserved only an attitude of sublime or stupid repose like their own images. Such testimony cannot but strengthen the conviction that the obstacles to the important changes which Christian philanthropy leads us to desiderate, and solemn duty and delightful privilege lead us to attempt, may in reality be much less formidable than they appear to be to the view of the timid and inconsiderate. The few individuals comparatively who have directed their literary attention to them, have received, in their recognition of these facts, a rich reward for what they have done in their elucidation. Our learned and popular societies observe the highest end of their incorporation, when their members combine for the prosecution

of the work of their more extended investigation. The Government of India pursues an economical as well as a liberal and enlightened policy, when it adopts decided measures for their conservation and complete or general delineation.

VIEWS OF THE CAVES OF KA'RLA',

CORRESPONDING WITH THOSE TAKEN BY MR. JOHNSON AND OTHER PHOTOGRAPHERS.

I.—Exterior of the Chaitya.

The *Chaitya*, as already explained, is the Temple properly so called. It lies to the right, in the view before us, behind the lion-pillar (of sixteen sides) and the double facings or screens of rock, parts of which as they originally stood (including perhaps a second pillar) are now altogether destroyed. The little structural shrine covered with grass is an apocryphal erection of one of the Péshwahs, devoted to *Dévi*, the wife of Shiva. The building to the left is the house of the musicians (supported by an endowment) attached to this shrine. In the rock in advance, where a group of men are standing and sitting, is a small tank, to the left of which, above, is the entrance to one of the víháras or monasteries. These excavations are about a mile and a half from the modern village of Kárlá,* on the road from Bombay to Puná. They are in a recess of the Kárlá valley, about six hundred feet above its level. It was in this valley that Colonel Shortrede measured his base for the Trigonometrical Survey of the Bombay Presidency, afterwards amalgamated with the Grand Trigonometrical Survey of India. This valley must have been remarkable in the days of old, as leading to what is now called the "Bhor 'Ghát," the most

* Hindi form. The Maráthi is Kárlen.

practicable pass over the Sáhya mountains of the Konkan. This may account for the choice of it for these remarkable Buddhist Excavations.

II.—Entrance to the Chaitya.

This view is taken in advance of the lion-pillar. The arch above, forming the only window to the Chaitya, is tastefully designed, both in its stone-cuttings and wooden work. The platform, or screen, below the arch, is supposed by some to have been used as a music-gallery. A portion of the principal doorway is filled up on the sides by modern masonry. The minor doorways, of which one is seen to the left, are stopped up altogether. The figures in front appear to more advantage in the other views than they do in this. In the mass of cut-rock in front, there are holes or mortars, for rafters, belonging to some wooden erection which has disappeared.

III.—Figures to the Right of the Entrance.

The two seemingly jubilant couples of male and female figures belong to the original work of the Chaitya. They represent, it is thought, the aborigines of India, as of the Bhills and other hill and forest tribes,—their ornaments, as noticed by Colonel Sykes, being similar to those now worn by the Wanjárás and other wanderers. In the centre group, which is of later and inferior execution, we have *Buddha*, with an attendant at each of his sides, seated on a throne supported by lions, and with his feet on a lotus, and about to be crowned by two heavenly beings above, while two devotees and a pair of antelopes are doing him obeisance below. Buddha also appears seated (enthroned and squatted) in the two groups at the top, and likewise with a couple of attend-

ants, with a fly-flap in their hands. The workmanship of the last-mentioned figures is the worst of all, and, though Buddhistical, must be considerably more modern than the execution of the Chaitya. This conclusion is borne out not only by its rudeness, but by the accompanying inscriptions, which, though not themselves of the oldest type, have been partly cut away in the carving of the figures.

IV.—Recess of the Porch to the Left.

Here three gigantic elephants, with excellent artistic effect, stand as if supporting the many tiers of compartments above them, only a small portion of which are in the Photograph. They have evidently suffered from violence, particularly in their nasal organs, a portion of one of which is lying in the corner below. Between them and the inscription is a row of larger and smaller Buddhas, with attendants. The inscription, which we have transliterated into the Nágarí character, and translated above, is in the oldest form of the Cave character, and befitting the times of the Emperor Ashoka, to whom we have attributed these remarkable works. The principal ornaments above represent the entrances to Chaityas, with figures of parties in some instances in a state of excitement, as seen in the case of the actual entrance to this Chaitya.

V.—Recess of the Porch to the Right.

There has been more violence here than on the left side opposite. To compensate for the want of novelty in the scene, the artist has introduced the musicians of the little apocryphal temple of *Dévi*. They are dressed in the common habiliments of the Maráṭhás.

VI.—Side View of the Figures at the Door of the Chaitya.

In this view these figures are seen to much advantage. Though they have not escaped injury, they are wonderfully

perfect considering their age, extending to about 240 years before Christ. In the middle compartment to the left, *Buddha* is seen standing with his right hand elevated, as if giving a blessing, and with his left hand holding the stem of a lotus. On the upper tier on this side the workmanship is very poor and rude.

VII.—Interior of the Chaitya.

The following notice is from Dr. Wilson's first Memoir on the Cave-Temples, &c., in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1850:—

"The principal excavation is a *Chaitya*, the largest, best preserved, and most interesting in point of art in India. Its pillars, figures, and other objects of curiosity, are well worthy of the attention of the artist. The *Dahgob* (the cylindrical drum surmounted by a dome) has a large wooden umbrella over it, fixed on a Tee, in a state of nearly perfect preservation. The wooden ribs of the roof also remain nearly entire. They are of teak, and are probably as old as the Cave itself. The abacus on the capitals of the fifteen pillars by which the nave is separated from each of the side aisles is of excellent sculpture. It is of two crouching elephants, their heads and necks only being visible, generally with a man and woman seated on each of them—the woman's hair being shed but having an ornament on front, and the man's being collected and twisted like a Turkish turban, if, indeed, he has not a rope-turban like that sometimes worn by the lower orders of the natives.* Behind the *Dahgob* (which was probably used as the receptacle of a relic of Buddha, or as a symbol of the sage), are seven plain octa-

* The figure of a horse, too, is visible above one or two of the pillars.

gonal pillars. Between the measurements of this Chaitya by Lord Valentia and Mr. Fergusson there is a very considerable discrepancy. 'Its interior dimensions,' says Mr. Fergusson, 'are one hundred and two feet three inches for total length, eighty-one feet three inches for length of nave. Its breadth from wall to wall is forty-five feet seven inches, while the width of the nave is twenty-five feet seven inches. In the Atlas to Lord Valentia's Travels, a detailed plan of this cave is given, on which the dimensions taken by the scale are forty-six feet wide by one hundred and twenty-six feet long; and as the plan appears to have been drawn with considerable care (by Mr. Salt, I believe), and these figures are repeated in the text, I was a good deal staggered by finding so great a discrepancy, and inclined at first to give up my own as incorrect. I have, however, retained them, not only because they were taken with care, and I cannot see how so great an error could have crept into them, but also because Lord Valentia's dimensions are quite at variance with those of all the Chaitya Caves I am acquainted with.'* In this instance, probably from some obliteration or confusion in Mr. Fergusson's notes, his usual accuracy has failed him. A careful measurement, which we lately made, agrees with that of Lord Valentia within a few inches.

"'As this,' says Mr. Fergusson, 'is decidedly the finest Chaitya Cave in India, a few remarks on the architectural ornaments of the Caves may not be misplaced.

"'Bearing in mind that the disposition of parts is exactly the same as those of the choir of a Gothic round or polygonal apse cathedral, the following description will easily be understood. Across the front there is always a screen with

* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. viii., p. 67.

a gallery over it, occupying the place of the round-loft, on which we now place our organs: in these, there are three doors,—one, the largest, opening to the nave, and one to each of the side aisles; over this screen the whole front of the Cave is open to the air, one vast window, the whole breadth of the same section, stilted so as to be more than a semicircle in height, or generally of horse-shoe form.

"'The whole light, therefore, fell on the Daghopa, which is placed exactly opposite in the place of the altar, while the colonnade around and behind is thus less perfectly lit. The pillars there being always placed very closely together, the light was never admitted in sufficient quantities to illuminate the wall behind, so that to a person standing near the door in this direction there appeared nothing but illimitable gloom.

"' I do not conceive that a votary was ever admitted beyond the colonnade under the front (?), the rest being devoted to the priests and the ceremonies, as is now the case in China, and in Catholic Churches, and he therefore never could see whence the light came, and stood in comparative shade himself, so as to heighten its effect considerably. Still further to increase this scenic effect, the architects of these temples have placed the screens and music galleries in front, in such a manner as to hide the great window from any person approaching the temple; though these appear to have been omitted in later examples, as in the Viswakarma of Elora, and the two later Chaitya Caves at Ajantá, and only a porch added to the inner screen, the top of which served as the music gallery; but the great window is then exposed to view, which I cannot help thinking is a great defect. To a votary once having entered the porch the effect is the same, and if the space between the inner and outer screen was

roofed, which I suppose it to have been, no one not previously acquainted with the design could perceive how the light was admitted; supposing a votary to have been admitted by the centre door and to have passed under the screen to the right or left, the whole arrangements were such that an architectural effect was produced certainly superior to anything I am acquainted with in ancient or modern temples.

" ' Something of the same sort is attempted in the classic and modern Hindu temples, where the only light is admitted by the door directly facing the image, which is thus lit up with considerable splendour, and the rest of the temple is left in a rather subdued light, so as to give it considerable relief. The door, however, makes but a clumsy window compared with that of the Buddhist Cave, for the light is too low, the spectator himself impedes a portion of it, and, standing in the glare of day, unless he uses his hands to shade his eyes, he can scarcely see what is within. In the Hypœthral temples this was probably better managed, and the light introduced more in the Buddhist manner; but we know so little of their arrangements, that it is difficult to give an opinion on a subject so little understood.

" ' Almost all writers agree that the Pantheon at Rome is the best-lit temple that antiquity has left us; in one respect it equals our caves, that it has but one window, and that placed high up, but it is inferior, inasmuch as it is seen by every one in the temple, and that the light is not concentrated on any one object, but wanders with the sun all round the building.' "*

* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. viii., pp. 61-62.

There is probably a good deal in these remarks on the disposition of the light from without; but judging from the liberties taken in their temples by the Jainas, who are Buddhist Seceders, we scarcely think that the religious awe here supposed to exist was cultivated by the ancient Buddhists. A series of lamps was probably placed at night on the rims round the Dahgob,—where there is room for their standing,—as we have seen placed by the Bráhmans during the festival of *Dévi*.

There is so much symmetry and neatness and general excellence in all the works of this *Chaitya* that we can easily suppose it to have been made after the design of the Greek or Bactrian whose name, as we have already mentioned, appears on one of the pillars. We agree with Mr. Fergusson in thinking that it was probably made after the model of some structural temple, through no edifice of a form similar to it is now known to exist either in India or Ceylon.

VIII.—Exterior of the Viháras, or Monasteries.

Much of the Rock has here fallen, rendering the entrance into the *Viháras* a matter of some difficulty for the visitor. In each of the storeys of these monasteries, there is only a hall surrounded with cells for the monks. There is nothing remarkable about the workmanship, which is probably not all cotemporaneous with that of the Chaitya. The pillars, in front, however, though plain, are very neat.

Appendix A.

WORKS OF UTILITY OF ANCIENT INDIA, EGYPT, AND BRITAIN IN INDIA.

At a great pic-nic party met on the Ghâṭs, and in acknowledgment of the services of the Directors of the G. I. P. Railway, Dr. Wilson made the following remarks :—

I remember, Dr. Wilson continued, the opening of the cart road which leads over the Bhor Ghât in our immediate neighbourhood. The construction of that road was thought a great achievement. Sir John Malcolm, who noticed the occasion, spoke of it with the greatest rapture, and alluded to the scientific skill and ingenuity of art with which it had been constructed, for the purpose of uniting the provinces of the Dekhan and Konkan, as they had never been united before, by 'wheel-carriages.' Were Sir John Malcolm, however, to rise from the grave to-day, and here look around him, he would be absolutely astonished. (Laughter.) He would see science exercised in its boldest, and yet sure, conceptions, and art cautiously putting these conceptions into a successful realization. Under the attempts here made, the loftiest figures of the loftiest poetry, that of the divinely-inspired Hebrews, had in particular application (though not that originally in the seer's eye) become literalities, the mountains being made low and the valleys exalted, while the

"chariots seem like torches and run like the lightning." (Cheers.) How much the unmeasured, though not altogether unmerited, rebuke in his time, of Mr. Burke, quoted by Mr. Berkley, has contributed to hasten this day, I shall not attempt to say; but this I think we can declare with the confidence already expressed, that none of our predecessors have left such memorials as Britain has now established in this land. (Cheers.) Greek visitants of India and residentr at its imperial courts have noticed the peculiarities of this climate, and the varied and rich natural productions of this country, and the peculiarities of its manners and customs; but they have not noticed, as far as I remember at this moment, any notable buildings and public works of art and labour which called forth their admiration and applause. It was with the Greeks, I am persuaded, that the scientific life of India originated; and certain it is that the names and works of Greeks, or of Bactrian Greeks, are to be found on and in the proudest works of ancient India,—at Kárlá, the top of this mountain pass; at Kánhérí, in the forests of the neighbouring Salsette; and at Ajanṭá, so distinguished for its paintings. The interest of these works, viewed in their artificial and historical aspects, we fully and frankly admit, as we do that of the Muhammadans, whose tombs and mosques and palaces rose, to the delectification of many, during the six or seven centuries of their otherwise non-productive domination. But we must go beyond India for works of sufficient magnitude and expanse of mind and labour for comparison on the present occasion. It is only on the banks of the Nile, in the "land of ancient kings," that our curiosity in its flight of research finds any repose. And what are the objects which are there presented to our inquisitive view? They are conspicuous Pyramids. Herodotus tells us of the distinguished wicked-

ness of their contractors, of the interruption of sacred and secular work for their forced accomplishment by servile bands. And what is the national result of all this forced labour exacted from hundreds of thousands of our oppressed fellow-men?

> "Instead of useful works, like Nature great,
> Enormous cruel wonders crushed the land;
> And round a tyrant's tomb, who none deserved,
> For one vile carcase perished countless lives."

What, I ask, was even the personal result to the founder of all this loss? Let Lord Byron give the answer in his cutting sarcasm:—

> "Let not a monument give you or me hopes,
> Since not a pinch of dust remains of Cheops."

But from the pyramids we see from afar a part of the course of the ancient canals, devised by Sesostris and renewed and completed by Necho, for connecting the Nile with the Red Sea, and in some of the works on which it is said 120,000 Egyptians perished. That was truly a useful work; but it must have been useful only (as I plainly saw when a few years ago following its remains over its whole course) or the purposes of transit and navigation. With that great work we are willing to compare, as with the Pyramids we are willing to contrast, the stupendous undertaking here in progress, and so interesting as beheld by us with all the means and appliances of construction which we have this day seen. I leave you, gentlemen, to do this for yourselves, knowing what you will note,—the enterprise, the skill, the difficulties encountered and surmounted, and the results, with the Divine blessing, to be most surely obtained.

Appendix B.

GREAT IS GAṆAPATI OF BOMBAY!

Among the creations of the later Hindu mythology are hosts of phantasms called *Gaṇas*. They are supposed to be such dexterous mischief-makers that by many they are represented as sheer devils. This is not, however, exactly their character. They are really a species of "odd fellows," in whom fun and frolic are predominant. Specimens of them are represented at Elephanta (one of them with a Lord Chancellor's wig covering his caput and humeri) in such a way as to enable us to recognize them as the congeners of the jesters and kings' fools of the European courts some two or three centuries ago. These merry fellows have a chief or prince of their own, called *Gaṇapati*. For his due exaltation he has been fathered upon the god Shiva, per his spouse Párvatí or Dévi. He came into existence, it is said, in a perfect human form. His mother was so charmed with his appearance at his birth that she invited all the gods to come to get a peep of him as he lay on his infantile couch. They all responded to her commands; but one of them, Shani, now the unlucky planet Saturn, from love to the child and mother, was rather slow to look at the darling. For his hesitation he was rebuked by Párvatí, and, rather than incur her permanent displeasure, he took a hasty glance at the mother's love. The consequences were fearful enough: the head of the child instantaneously withered away, while the

mother experienced the agony of despair in its most acute form. But Shani was not without his divine resources on this melancholy occasion. An elephant was passing by, and of this huge pachyderm he chopped off the head and placed it on the trunk of the child, where it still remains, the symbol of marvellous precocity and wisdom. The belly, arms, and legs of the young one soon assumed a gigantic form, which by good feeding they still retain. Due family provision was made for Ganapatí. A rat was provided for him to go about on, whenever he might be inclined to seek for air and exercise. Don't say that there was anything incongruous in this, when you remember that his brother Kártika Swámí (the god of war) goes to battle mounted on a peacock; and don't say that Shiva made a better choice for himself when he took a bull for his conveyance, or Párvatí for herself when she chose a tiger, for these animals do not always well consort together. The Hindus have till our own times shown wonderful respect for Ganapatí, rat and all. We need not mention with what love and affection his birthday is still celebrated. What is done with him on the streets, and at the shores of our island, is known to all. And in the houses of his devotees he is not less regarded. When a clayey model of him is procured, and when the *mantras* of the Bráhmans give him a lodgment within it, all is joy and exultation. The *arti*, or waving of lights, must be performed before him, while he must hear the voice of the song, the clang and clatter of the cymbal, and the roll of the hand drum, and witness the jump and the dance scarcely less enthusiastic than that of the Rás Mandal. To all this delectification of the god who should object, especially when his own wit and jests and those of his hosts below him (far excelling those of Mr. Punch himself) are remembered?

So ask his votaries with imperious mien and defiant tone! With them their quiet neighbour, the studious youth, and the sick and suffering friend are of no account. Away with all non-participants in our holy Utsavas. Great is Ganapatí of Bombay! Great is Ganapatí of the Kandáwádí!

This is the spirit with which a company of Ganapatites proceeded to work the other evening, in a lodging-house in one of the back lanes of Girgaum :—

As *Ganpat* glowr'd, amaz'd and curious,
The mirth and fun grew fast and furious :
The piper loud and louder blew ;
The dancers quick and quicker flew.

Suddenly a little boy appeared among the crew with a message from his sick brother in an adjoining room, begging them to stop their revelry, or to conduct it without annoyance to their neighbours. They desisted for a moment, shut the door upon the innocent youth, and proceeded to belabour him with their fists. His mother and a couple of young students (not converts, as is said in one of the local papers) rushed to the rescue, which they soon effected. This in the eye of the Ganapatites was an "assault," and such a sacrilegious interruption of a body of devout saints in a "place of worship," that they made an appeal to the Magistrate on Wednesday, taking care, however, to summon as offenders the persons able to give testimony in defence of the accused. The case occupied the patient attention of Mr. Dosábháí Frámjí for several hours; but the Ganapatites had the mortification of being told that their testimony was confused, contradictory, and unworthy of credit, and that the accused would do well to avoid, in time to come, all connection with parties likely to bring them only into a disagreeable position.

All this is well enough; but steps must be taken to prevent all uprearious singers, cymbalists, drummers, tomtomists, and dancers from annoying and disturbing their quiet and sober neighbours, even though they shout, and beat, and jump in the name of the great god Gaṇapati, shown by his worshippers, on the occasion now referred to, to have been bought in the Bombay bazaar for the magnificent sum of six annas.

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